5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slovic Peoples E16

the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

[1] At Rakljansko Polje a pine tree was said to have sprung from a branch stuck in the ground by the Empress Milica when Car Lazar was born. Cf. J. Pančić, *Iz Prirode*, p. 52. Similar acts of commemoration are, of course, well known in other parts of the world.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Slavic Peoples E16

present in these practices, I would also ask whether there were not some more tangible cult significance underlying this giving of new vitality to trees. But this possibility and, for the matter of that, this aspect of agricultural activity as a whole, does not seem to have found a commentator, and I myself have not yet sufficient instances to formulate a theory.

The respect for things in general is innate in the peasant, as countless small observances in everyday life show. So long as this recognition persists, any object, however mean and common, can on occasion serve in magic, without being sacred; while if on the basis of special 'taboos' a list of sacred plants and animals were made, it would be far too large to allow of so many special cults or cult usages. Much less extensive would be a corresponding list of cursed things, which cannot under any circumstances be touched.

It must be remembered that the inventory of a peasant household (of the kind still out of touch with urbanism) is not large, while in the mountains or in the hinterland of Dalmatia it may not include all the primary necessities even of a very simple life. In this simpler scheme domestic artifacts and utensils retain something of their primitive significance. In extreme cases domestic tidiness is a minor ritual; every object has its proper place when not in use, and is carefully handled, and put away in a special position, which must not be reversed. The broom, the sieve, the kneading trough, the scoop, the chains of the hearth pot, the gourd, etc., have had their ritual associations amongst every people.

It is not possible to disentangle knowledge of the physical properties of substances from their significance in legend or worship; and it would be equally impossible to trace whether an object, used in divination, or a household utensil, which seems to enjoy special respect, such as a sieve or a wood-block or an axe, has a certain power ascribed to it directly, or through an analogous association with some other category of ideas.

The steam bath is noticed early for East and Northern Slavs, but it is curious that after the Slav invasion, the